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ABSTRACT

The first part of this paper provides a description and discussion of the major aspects of the process of relativization in Israeli Hebrew: (a) the use of a subordinating relative particle which in most cases can neither be deleted nor replaced and which is prefixed to the first constituent of the embedded S; (b) the obligatory pronominalization of the coreferential NP in the embedded S; and (c) the function of the relativized NP in determining whether or not the pronominalized form of the NP of the embedded S will be deletable. The second part of the paper deals with: (a) a hypothesis that historically the relative marker in Hebrew, in practically all cases of relativization, was preceded by a pronominalized relative; (b) a discussion of the possibility that Hebrew in an analogous manner closely parallels English in its historical development, leading us to consider some interesting claims about subordinating processes in general; and (c) a description and discussion of relative clause reduction as further support of some of the notions put forward in (a) and (b). (Author)

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THE RELATIVIZATION 'WHICH THAT IT IS' IN ISRAELI HEBREW*

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ABSTRACT

The first part of this paper provides a description and discussion of the major aspects of the process of relativization in Israeli Hebrew: a) the use of a subordinating relative particle which in most cases can neither be deleted nor replaced and which is prefixed to the first constituent of the embedded S; b) the obligatory pronominalization of the coreferential NP in the embedded S; and c) the function of the relativized NP in determining whether or not the pronominalized form of the NP of the embedded S will be deletable. The second part of the paper deals with: a) a hypothesis that historically the relative marker in Hebrew, in practically all cases of relativization, was preceded by a pronominalized relative; b) a discussion of the possibility that Hebrew in an analogous manner closely parallels English in its historical development, leading us to consider some interesting claims about subordinating processes in general; and c) a description and discussion of relative clause reduction as further support of some of the notions put forward in a) and b).

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Where the relativization process in a language such as Turkish basically involves attachment of a relative affix to the verb of the embedded S, thus modifying the relativized NP, and where a language like English has relative pronouns which replace the deleted NP subject or object and which are then in turn optionally deleted in the case of the object NP, relativization in Israeli Hebrew basically involves a subordinating relative particle which almost never can be deleted (and in only one instance replaced), and which is prefixed to the first constituent of the embedded S. The second part of the basic relativization process in Hebrew consists of obliga-

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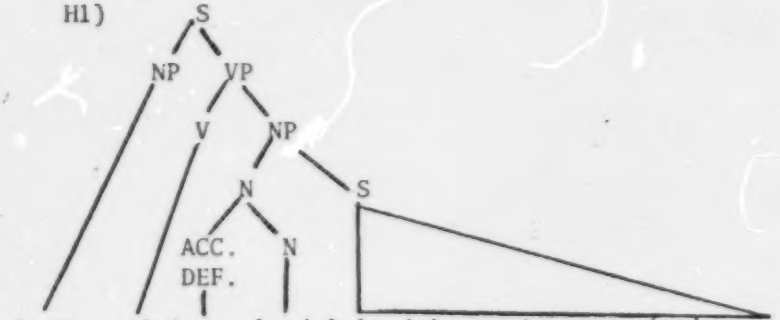
torily pronominalizing the coreferential NP in the embedded S. In the deep-structure S which is embedded, the relativized noun may be a subject NP, a direct object NP or sentential object construction, the object of a prepositional phrase (which may be Directional, Locative, Dative, Ablative, Instrumental, or Benefactive), or a non-prepositionally prefixed, adverb-like locative, and the function of that NP will determine the conditions for the third part of the relativization process; namely whether or not the pronominalized NP of the embedded S will be deletable.

Whether the relativized NP is subject, object, or prepositional phrase etc., the relative subordinating particle prefix she[1] is first attached to the head constituent of the embedded S and then the relativized NP in the embedded S is obligatorily pronominalized (the Locative adverbial is left untouched). One of two deletion transformations is then applied to the pronominalized NP, dependent on whether the NP is, on the one hand, the subject of the embedded S or, on the other, the object, prepositional phrase, or adverbial locative noun (minus preposition) of the embedded S.[2]

a) SUBJECT NP:

H1)



REL. 1 + 2) she PARTICLE and PRON. of embedded NP Subject OBLIG.

(ani) raiti et ha-ish she-hu axal et ha-basar
(I) saw-I ACC. DEF. the-man "that"-he ate ACC. DEF. the-meat

REL. 3a) Deletion OPT.

(ani) raiti et ha-ish she-(hu) axal et ha-basar

"I saw the man 'who'/'that' ate the meat."

Condition The pronominalized subject may be optionally deleted except in an embedded S where the subject has an NP complement after the copula BE.[3]

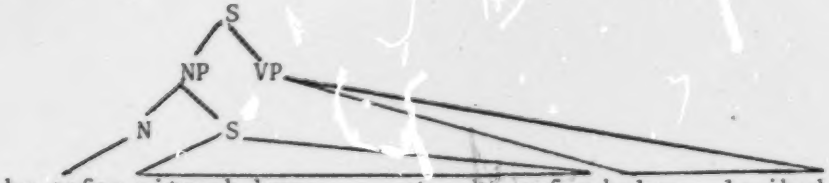
H2) BE+NP

(ani) raiti et ha-ish she-hu ø ha-more sheli
(I) saw-I ACC. DEF. the-man REL-he (be) PART. the-teacher of-me

"I saw the man 'that'/'who' is my teacher."

b) Object or Prepositional Phrase NP:

H3)



ha-sefer yitsxak kana et ha-sefer halax le-ibud
the-book Isaac bought-he ACC. DEF. the-book went-he to-loss

REL. 1+2) she PARTICLE and PRONOM. of NP Object OBLIG.

ha-sefer she-yitsxak kana oto halax le-ibud
the-book REL-Isaac bought-he "it" went-it to-loss
PART. ACC. DEF.

REL. 3b) Deletion OPT.

Only the pronominalized object may be optionally deleted, i.e., a pronominalized prepositional phrase is obligatorily retained (see below).

ha-sefer she-yitsxak kana (oto) halax le-ibud

"The book 'that'/'which' Isaac bought got lost."

H4) (Cf. REL. 3b) PREP. PHRASE (Instrumental):[4]

tikanti et ha-kli she-hishtamashti bo
repaired-I ACC. the-tool REL.-used-I at/in/with/on-it
DEF. PART.
"I repaired the tool 'that'/'which' I used."

H5) (Cf. REL. 3b) PREP. PHRASE (Directional):

ha-mixonit she-nixnasti la matsa xen bi-eynay
the-car REL.-entered-I to/into-it found-it favor in-eyes-my
PART.
"I liked the car 'that'/'which' I got into."

In similar fashion, Object of Dative PREP., Locative PREP., Ablative PREP. (actually a subset of Directional PREP.), and Benefactive PREP. may be derived, e.g.:

H6) Dative Prep.:

ze ha-ish. natati la-ish matana.
(That ø the-man. Gave-I to-the-man a-present.)

ze ha-ish she-natati lo matana.
(That ø the-man REL.-gave-I to-him a-present.)
PART.
"That's the man I gave a present to."

H7) Locative Prep.:

ze ha-makom. amadti ba-makom.
(That ø the-place. Stood-I in-the-place.)

ze ha-makom she-amadti bo.
(That ø the-place REL.-stood-I at/in-it.)
PART.
"That's the place I stood at/in."

H8) Ablative Prep.:

zot a-pina. yatsati mi-ha-pina.
(That the-corner. Left-I from-the corner.)

zot ha-pina she-yatsati mimena.
(That ø the corner REL.-left-I from-it.)
PART.
"That's the corner I left from."

H9) Benefactive Prep.:

ze ha-ish. asiti avoda bishvil ha-iysh.
(That ø the-man. Did-I work for the-man.)

ze ha-ish she-asiti avoda bishvilo.
(That øthe-man REL.-did-I work for-him.)
PART.
"That's the man I did work for."

OR

ze ha-ish. asiti la-i sh tova.
(That øthe-man. Did-I to/for-the man a-favor.)

ze ha-ish she-asiti lo tova.
(That øthe man REL.-did-I for-him a-favor.)
PART.
"That's the man I did a favor for."

Like English, the prepositional particle prefix is retained in the Hebrew relative clause when the NP is a prepositional phrase. However, unlike English, all the pronominal suffixes are obligatorily retained. In English, it is understandable that the pronominalized NP could be deleted since the prepositional particles are separate entities and not attachments (cf., for example, H5 and the English translation). In Hebrew, the retention of the pronominal suffixes seems to be the consequence in part of a perceptual tendency within the grammar of the speaker-hearer to prevent affixes from hanging freely, "in mid-air" as it were, in the face of possible deletion.

In all the cases where the pronominalized NP is not the subject, the phenomenon of pronoun "attraction" can optionally occur in the Hebrew relative clause. Thus, the following optional sentences can occur for sentences H3-----H9):

PRONOUN ATTRACTION:

H3a) ha-sefer she-oto yitsxak kana halax le-iybud

H4a) tikanti et ha-kli she-bo hishtamashti

H5a) ha-mixonit she-la nimasti matsa xen bi-eynay

H6a) ze ha-ish she-lo natati matana

H7a) ze ha-makom she-bo amadti

H8a) zot ha-pina she-mimena yatsati

H9a) ze ha-ish she-bishvilo asiti avoda
or
ze ha-ish she-lo asiti tova

Recall that, as stated at the beginning of this paper, the subordinating relative particle is almost never deleted. Interestingly enough, only after pronoun attraction will deletion of the particle be optionally admitted. Thus, each of the sentences H3a-----H9a) can occur after pronoun attraction with she deleted, e.g.:

H6a) ... ha-ish lo natati matana ...etc.

As mentioned earlier, there are a number of prepositional adverbial-of-place locatives that pronominally replace the NP in the embedded S: sham 'there' and kan/po 'here', li-sham 'to there' or (literary) shama 'thither', li-kan/li-po 'to here' or (literary) hena 'hither'. This usually is followed by obligatory pronoun attraction. These pronouns in turn may be optionally deleted in the embedded S, but this operation requires that a locative WH-word (often unmarked as to aspect-of-locative affix) arise between the NP in the matrix S and the relative particle. At this point, even the NP of the matrix may be deleted:

H10) ze ha-makom. halaxti la-makom.
(That ø the-place. Went-I to-the-place.)

ze ha-makom she-li-sham halaxti.
(That ø the place REL.-to-there went-I.)
PART.

ze ha-makom (li)eyfo she-halaxti.
(That ø the-place (to)-where REL.-went-I.)
PART.

ze eyfo she-halaxti.

"That's where I went."

H11) ani ba-makom. bati la-makom lifney shaa.
(I ø in-the-place. Came-I to-the-place before an-hour.)

ani ba-makom she-li-po bati lifney shaa.
(I ø in-the-place REL.-to-here came-I before an-hour.)
PART.

ani ba-makom (li)-eyfo she-bati lifney shaa.
(I ø in-the-place (to)-where REL.-came-I before an hour.)
PART.

ani eyfo she-bati lifney shaa.

"I'm where I came (to) an hour ago."

Needless to say, in Hebrew this kind of sentence is much less frequent than the following:

H10a) ze ha-makom she-elav halaxti
(this ø the-place REL.-to-it went-I.)
PART.
"This is the place where I went."

H11a) ani ba-makom she-elav bati lifney shaa
(I ø in-the-place REL.-to-it came-I before an-hour)
PART.
"I'm in the place that I came to an hour ago."

Now it seems more logical to assume that these constructions are representative of an historical stage in Hebrew when there were both pronominalized relatives and relative markers that arose when a subordination of the relativization type took place. This then leads us to a fairly strong hypothesis that the relative particle

she, in all cases of relativization as discussed above, was preceded by a WH-word in Hebrew. Interestingly enough, this hypothesis might be borne out in a sentence like "yesh mishehu po" 'there's someone here', where mishehu 'someone' is a constructed form from mi (Interrogative) 'who', she the particle, and hu 'he'. Under this reading, the sentence is derived from a relativization something like "there's a someone who is here".

If the relative particle she was thus preceded in all cases of relativization by a WH-word, Hebrew closely parallels English in its historical development (cf. Bever and Langendoen, 1971). In English the pronominalized WH-forms took precedence as relative markers and "that", the relative particle, became confused and finally interchangeable with the WH-forms at a later stage. However, in Hebrew it is the relative particle she that took precedence, eventually resulting, in most cases, in the deletion of pronominals except where perceptual factors blocked this. (Note, as further argument for this, the pronoun attraction phenomenon in Hebrew as compared with sentences in English like "...the man to whom I gave the present..."). In addition, this similarity in development might allow for some investigation into the possibility that, since both languages have a phonetically identical particle or relative pronominal and a complementizer particle, relativization and complementation are both, as certain types of subordination, derived originally from similar deeper constructions. It is, of course, not the author's intention to examine that possibility in this paper.[5]

Furthermore, English seemingly allows a reduction of the relative pronouns which refer to the relativized NP in the embedded S.

Hebrew relative clause reduction, however, centers around the deletion or movement of the pronominalized, relativized NP's as made explicit herein. Thus, with the information presented so far, there is really only one Hebrew reading for the following English phrases denoting sententially derived subject NP's:

H13) The sleeping child...
The child sleeping...
The child that/who is sleeping...

Ha-yeled she(*)-(hu)-yashen...
The-child REL.-(he)-sleeps/is sleeping...
PART.

But there is a bit more to the story here. There is just one possible alternate relative particle in Hebrew and it only may replace she when the embedded S has:

1) BE as ∅ with an adjective or prepositional phrase as complements; or 2) a verb in the PRESENT. Partee (personal communication) suggests that this actually may be relevant to the fact that verbs in the PRESENT are sometimes glossed as --ing forms, thus suggesting that they, similar to 1), have an accompanying ∅ BE. The transformation for this she replacement replaces she with ha (the definite article) only when the coreferential NP in the matrix S is prefixed by the ha definite article. In addition, the obligatorily pronominalized NP of the embedded S is obligatorily deleted after ha-relative particle replacement. Compare:

H14) Ha-ish she(*)-(hu) oved kashe yitkadem.
→ ...ha-oved...
The-man REL.PART.-(he)-works hard he-will-get-ahead.
"The man that works hard will get ahead."

H15) Ha-yeled she(*)-(hu) gavoa yuxal lehagia la-tikra.
⇒ ...ha-gavoa...
The-boy REL.PART.-(he)-ø-tall he-will-be-able to-reach the-ceiling.

"The boy that is tall will be able to touch the ceiling."

It seems that here, just as is quite possibly the case in English[6], there is evidence that true adjectives and/or adjective-noun phrases are derived from reduced relative clauses. Thus, H14) might have the reading: "The hard-working man will get ahead", and H15) might be: "The tall boy will be able to touch the ceiling.", by a reduced relative clause-with-BE transformation that results directly in the normal Hebrew adjective order without any adjective pre-positioning rule such as is necessary in English.

In addition, given just the conditions above, Hebrew will permit a reduced relativization of sententially-derived object NP and will yield all the same possible readings, constrained in approximately the same ways, as the following English sentences. Compare.

H16) ani roeh et ha-ish. ha-ish omed sham.
I see the-man. The-man stands there.

ani roeh et ha-ish she(*)-(hu)- omed sham.
I see the-man REL.PART.-(he)-stands there.

"I see the man who/that is standing there."

H17) ani roeh et ha-ish. ha-ish oved kashe sham.
I see the-man. The-man is working hard there.

ani roeh et ha-ish ha-oved kashe sham.
I see the-man REL.PART.-working hard there.

"I see the hard-working man over there."

H18) ani roeh et ha-ish. ha-ish rats sham.
I see the-man. The-man is-running there.

ani roeh et ha-ish rats sham.
I see the-man running there.

"I see the man running over there."

Finally, there seems to be very little if any apparatus in Hebrew for distinguishing between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses[7]. It has been my experience to note that sophisticated or highly-educated speakers of modern Hebrew who are familiar with the phenomenon in English have attempted, through intonation changes in their speech or commas and/or dashes in their writing, to compensate for this "lack", but the only syntactic variation (also used for emphasis) that gives the restrictive reading for the English translation following it is something like:

H19) Ambiguous:

axi she-hu aluf gar bi-yrushalayim.
Brother-my REL.PART.-he ø general lives in-Jerusalem.

"My brother (,) who is a general (,) lives in Jerusalem."

H20) Restrictive only:

axi hu (ze) she-(hu) aluf gar bi-yrushalayim.
Brother-my he (this one) REL.PART.-(he) ø general lives in-Jerusalem.

"My brother who is the one who is a general lives in Jerusalem."

Obviously, H20) violates the rule informally stated in REL. 3a), but it may not be entirely different from the regular Hebrew relative clause construction. It might simply represent a hyper-extension of the NP+Pronominalized WH-NP+REL.PART.+S that I have claimed may very well underlie all such relative constructions.

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NOTES:

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1

a) This is an abbreviated form of the now highly literary or stylistic true particle asher. When a classical Hebrew particle is "shortened" in modern Hebrew, it usually becomes a prefixed form, analogous to what generally occurs in the contraction of "not" in English. It might be interesting to mention that a form of hypercorrection, similar to what occurs with English "between you and I", arises with the formal asher, in forms such as redundant asher she, preceding the head constituent of the embedded S.

b) The she particle also serves the function in modern Hebrew of a verb complement conjunction, analogous to the so-called subjunctive formation in other languages, e.g.:

ani rotse she+ha-ish yelex
I want CONJ.-the-man he-will-go
PART.
"I want the man to go."

Note that the X-NP-"to"-V-Y formation is almost nonexistent in Hebrew, with just a few verbs optionally permitting this complement formation in the place of the regular she+S complement; e.g.:

(ani) [{pakadti / tsiviti} alav / {karati / amarti} lo] lalexet habayta.

=

(I) [{commanded-I / ordered-I} upon-him / {called-I / said-I} to-him] to-walk homewards.

"I ordered/commanded/called/told (to) him to walk home."

This class of verbs clearly would, in a semantic analysis, be categorized as "verbs of command". Although the surface syntactic structure of sentential strings with other verbs such as "help" (azar) also admits this "to" formation, I would contend that the deep structure source is different, semantically and syntactically. Namely, "in order" is deleted.

At any rate, the close relationship in the rule processes of complement and relative particles in languages such as Hebrew, or the close relationship between WH-fronting of WH-words as question or relative pronominals in languages such as English, might lead to some interesting statements regarding implicational universals. (See also note 5, below.)

2

Since the PAST and FUTURE paradigms are completely inflected as to person, gender, and number, it is almost always possible in these cases to delete the pronominalized subject in a simple declarative S. However, this is in no way a correlate of the conditions for deletion of the relativized, rule-pronominalized NP, as will soon be clear. Nevertheless, it turns out that, primarily due to the reason stated, in the surface syntactic structure of a sentence like H1), the third person is, in many dialects of Hebrew, obligatorily deleted, i.e., (hu) will be *(hu) on the surface (cf. REL 3a below) and the condition stated under REL. 3a) will be modified accordingly: "The pronominalized subject is obligatorily deleted with regular verbs; with a copula predicate construction, it can only be (optionally) deleted in the PAST and FUTURE." (cf. note 3 below)

3

See Note 2 above.

BE is overt only in the PAST and FUTURE, i.e., it is Ø in the PRESENT. The pronoun in H2), however, seems to function as a suppletive copula. The nature of the condition on non-deletion of (suppleted) BE in the PRESENT thus may be "conspiratorial" in that it seems to be a strategy for avoiding perceptual difficulties similar to that which was implied in the insightful study by Bever and Langendoen (1971).

4

Hebrew has in its system of verb classes certain verb-types that require certain prepos itional particles to be used before the NP constituent in the VP. This might lead to fairly interesting arguments to be made for a case grammar type of treatment for Hebrew (cf. Fillmore 1968).

Further note that all nouns are either [+masculine] or [+feminine], there being no [+neuter], i.e., mostly syntactic, not natural gender.

5

A further fact which might stimulate an interesting study along these lines is that the she particle functions almost exactly as the English 'that' in sentential nominalizations.

6

Langendoen, pp.145-151, and Ross, pp.23-25.

7

Givon (personal communication) suggests that, rather than what I maintain below, pauses (juncture) and the syntactic apparatus of pronominalization are sufficient to give a clear distinction. Thus:

a) Restrictive: ha-anashim she-yashvu leyad ha-kir...
the-men REL.-sat-they next-to the-wall...
PART.
"The men who sat next to the wall..."

b) Non-restrictive:
ha-anashim, eyle she-yashvu leyad ha-kir...
the-men those REL.-sat-they next-to the-wall...
PART.
"The men, who sat next to the wall,..."